2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

As is the case in the highlands of Guatemala, the outstanding social unit, corresponding to a tribe, is the population of several hundred or several thousand Indians whose activities center in one leading settlement from which the community gets its name. As in Guatemala, these communities vary greatly with respect to the proportion of Indians living permanently in this central settlement. Dr. Tax[4] uses the phrase "town nucleus type" for Guatemalan Indian communities in which all or a large majority of the Indians live in the principal settlement, and the phrase "vacant town type" for those in which most of the Indians live in scattered rural habitations, coming to the town center occasionally for commercial, governmental, or festal reasons. Among the Tzeltals the town-nucleus type is less atypical than it is in Guatemala, and the town-nucleus communities are suffering from a scarcity of land. The following communities may be regarded as of this type: Amatenango, San Martin, Tenango, Sivacá, Petalcingo, and probably also Chanal and Citalá, although at least in the case of the last two, there are also considerable numbers of Indians dwelling in the countryside. The vacant-town type of community is represented by Cancuc, Oxchuc, Bachajón, and Chilón. It will be seen that both types are represented in both highlands and lowlands. With respect to this classification Tenejapa, Guaquitepec, and Yajalon are intermediate, and illustrate Tax's "Type III" in that many of the people live in the town and work their fields closely surrounding it, while many live on their farms and only occasionally come to town.

As in the highlands of Guatemala, the ethnic distinction between Indian and Ladino is marked, here also the Ladinos are much outnumbered by the Indians, and here too the Ladinos are very predominately town-dwellers. In Chilón and Yajalón the permanent town-dwellers are chiefly Ladinos; the permanent population of Oxchuc consists of about seventy Ladino families; the several thousand Indians live about the town and in the country. In other towns (Tenejapa,[5] Citalá, Guaquitepec and Petalcingo) a considerable number of Ladino families have become established, although in these communities there are more Indians even among the inhabitants of the town itself, than there are Ladinos. A general disposition to exclude Ladinos from permanent settlement in Indian communities is most marked in Cancuc, the site of the uprising of 1712,[6] and where in 1935 some Ladino merchants were slain by the Indians. No Ladinos reside there now. In Amatenango, Chanal, Bachajón, San Martin, Tenango, and Sivacá the Indians are also unfavorable to settlement by Ladinos; in each of the three last-named villages the only Ladino residents are the school-teacher and the government-imposed municipal agent. Recently a few Ladino tradespeople have settled in Bachajón, and a "Center of Native Education" has been established there (as also at Amatenango) by the Mexican national government. In the lowland towns of

[4] Tax, 1937, pp. 423-444.

[5] It is interesting that in Tenejapa, where both Indians and Ladinos live in town, the two groups recognize different series "patron saints" and there are separate schools for Indians and for Ladinos, whereas in Oxchuc, where all the Indians live outside the town, the same santos are worshipped by both groups, but the Ladinos maintain their own celebration on the day of the festival.

[6] Vicente Pineda, 1888.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

a marriage was incestuous in the same sense as marriage between close relations. These surnames are transmitted patrilineally. Of ten informants in Chanal, nine gave their Indian surnames; the tenth said he had none. Furthermore, in cases where potential spouses have the same Spanish surname but different Indian surnames—and such cases occur—marriage between such persons is similarly discouraged. And in San Martin, Tenango, Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo, where apparently the Indian surnames do not exist, Villa received information to the effect that marriage between persons of the same Spanish surname is disapproved.[71]

Indian surnames noted by Villa, with translations offered him, follow:

CHANAL: Yemuc (large mouth), Xampil, Tiib, Calabal, Chicó, Cories, Comistal.

TENEJAPA: Tzurin (sowing?), Hoviltzil (mad dog), Uacax (cow), Chacax (?), Mee-mut (mother hen), Lobal (banana), Ton (stone).

CANCUC: Oxom, Sav, Chig-yax, Coreta, Caxlan-pucú, Hokob-canela.

OXCHUC: Chinbac (small bone), Aquilan (from Aquilar), Chichol (tomato), Barsen (*pinto*), Nimail (squash-tip), Holchi (deer head).

In all the highland villages information was given to the effect that each *pueblo* (town, with its rural population, if any) is endogamous; in most instances the endogamy was represented as absolute. As some of the communities include only a few score of households, the matter requires further investigation.

The communities of Cancuc, Oxchuc, and Bachajón (and apparently only these) are divided into antagonistic sub-communities called *calpules*. (Neither Starr nor Blom and LaFarge give information on this point.) In each case an imaginary east-west line across the plaza divides the northern lands of the one calpul from the southern lands of the other. In Cancuc (at least) the lands of the north are considered "hot," those of the south "cold," with corresponding favorable and unfavorable connotations as to their fertility. In Cancuc the northern calpul is called either *muhul calpul* 'large calpul' or else *alankuluhibal*; the southern is called *bikit calpul* 'small calpul' or else *kalankuluhibal*. Each calpul (*barrio* to the Ladinos) had its own government, established by the members of each calpul independently of the formal local government, which, recognized by the state and national authorities, acts for both calpules in matters that must be taken to the outside authorities. In Oxchuc the calpul officers are one *presidente*, two *alcaldes* or *cantakines*, two *gobernadores*, two *catinab* 'very respected chiefs,'

[71] "Among the Lacandone there are patrilineal, totemically named kinships grouped into two exogamous phratries (Soustelle, 1935); it is likely that among the ancient Maya of Yucatan there was surname exogamy. Landa says (Section XXIV), "... the Indians consider all of the same name related, and treat them accordingly. Thus also no man or woman marries another of the same name, because this was for them a great infamy" (Gates, 1937, p. 40). Landa also says (Section XXV), "... nor did they ever marry one bearing their own name on the father's side, for this was considered a very bad thing." On the subject of Maya names, Roys says, "The Maya family name, which was perpetuated on the male line, survived the Conquest, but the old pagan pre-names were abolished and replaced by Spanish Christian names when the Indians were baptized. Two varieties of pre-names are well known: one indicating a man's profession or office, and the other, derived from his mother and preceded by the prefix Na- The Maya called the latter the 'real' and there were also two other classes of pre-names, which they called the 'boy-name' and the 'jesting name.' Many of the 'boy-names' are referable to fauna-names, especially those of birds, while some of the 'jesting names' appear to be descriptive. It seems to have been possible for a single person to have borne all four names" (Roys, 1934, p. 106).

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The boy is expected to live for a year with the girl's parents; then he makes his own home, usually near that of his father. If the boy's parents are sufficiently powerful, they may pay the girl's parents twelve pesos in lieu of the year's service. Villa was informed that a woman unable to pay a debt or a fine may be taken as a secondary wife by any married man who will pay the debt or fine; that a woman who loses her virginity may be bought similarly of her parents for a little rum; and that in the case of any of these polygynous marriages, a single household is maintained. No such household was observed.

No information was obtained on birth customs,[30] or on customs in connection with death.[31]

Blom and LaFarge describe a church festival held at Tecojá ranch on June 22 and 23.[32] When Villa visited the highland villages the carnival was being celebrated. In Tenejapa on February 20 he witnessed the "Festival of the Flags" (*tahimalkin*). The (annually elected) leaders of the festival, the *alfereces*, assembled in the morning at the church. Each man conveyed a red banner with green edges, fastened to a pole, and each held in his mouth a short hook on which an orange was impaled. Nothing was learned as to the significance of these objects. The alfereces remained for a time inside the church drinking rum and singing. They then went by fours to pray in turn before each of the crosses set up in the village. The rest of the day they spent visiting the house of each one of them in turn; in each house they sang the same song sung in the church; in each the host offered rum, so that by nightfall all were drunk. These acts were to be twice repeated during the days following. They had for their stated purpose the announcement of the days of carnival. On the following Thursday the carnival became generally celebrated, and many natives went out costumed and masked.

The alfereces were accompanied by musicians, and also by three personages carrying the dried bodies of, respectively, a wild cat, a rodent called *saben*, and an iguana. Villa was informed that these animals are used in a later festal pantomime in which the alfereces enact a sowing, and in which these animals are represented as performing their characteristic mischief.

Villa observed other elements of the carnival ritual in Oxchuc. On Thursday, February 24, Indians of the calpul of Santo Tomás assembled in the church where they prayed for a time before the large altar, and then danced and drank rum in the nave. The dance was performed alternately by men and by women, and was accompanied by music from a harp, a guitar, and a rattle made of a calabash and a deer's hoof. On the following day these acts were performed by Indians of the other calpul; on this occasion the music was furnished by two drums and a flute, and the leader (*capitán*) was dressed in red. On this latter day natives of the calpul of Santo Tomás moved in procession through the streets; four individuals bore each a large pole to which were fastened ribbons of various colors; a fifth carried a red banner.

[30] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:359.
[31] *Ibid.*, 2:360–362.
[32] *Ibid.*, 2:364–365.
[33] The frequent association, in Middle America, of small animals, especially furred animals, with festivals, in connection with ideas of fertility and of festal buffoonery has been noted. See Redfield, 1936, pp. 251–243.

Their slender-
147 ness is deceptive, for their great strength lies
[482] in their legs, back, and neck, seen in their ability to carry loads of 45 kilograms (100 lbs.) and upwards, all day up and down hill without
142 undue fatigue . . . Hair form is straight, coarse, and black. Gray hair or baldness are very unusual. Body hair, as far as could be observed, is negative.

143 As many as 99.56 per cent of Tzeltal belong to blood type O, which is one of the highest frequencies registered in the Ma-
143 yance area. According to Matson and Swan-
144 son (1959, p. 50), "In general the more isolated peoples such as the Lacandon, Tzeltal, Tzotzil and Cakchiquel show the highest frequency of the O gene." This condition is attributed to the absence of racial mixture.

CULTURAL CONFIGURATION

621 Like the Indians in the highlands of Gua-
[171] temala (Tax, 1937), the Tzeltal group themselves in communities which are distinct social and cultural units, as is characteristic
621 of the tribe. Each community has its well-
184 defined lands, its own dialect forms, wearing apparel, kinship system, politico-religious organization, economic resources, crafts, and other cultural features. Any native of the region finds it easy to identify the origin of other Indians by noting their speech, wearing apparel, or the goods they
621 sell. Solidarity between the members of each community is strong and becomes manifest in times of conflict with outside groups or in their way of gathering according to their "nationality" on fiestas or market days when people of other communities attend. On the other hand, no ethnic solidar-
[628] ity whatsoever exists. Each community restricts itself to its own affairs and nothing else; whatever happens to the other Tzeltal communities is something altogether apart.

621 The territorial limits of these communi-
632 ties do not always coincide with those of
[171] the municipalities, as in Guatemala. Various well-defined communities exist (in the terms described above) which belong to

[P. 197-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

789 away, leaving it alone, an ear of yellow corn is left with it, that its soul may not be stolen. There is an interesting parallel here with
•[171] the ear of corn as a "ceremonial mother" in the Southwestern United States. If somebody expresses too strong admiration of a child, fire must be passed near it, or spittle rubbed over its forehead; otherwise the baby will become ill. Infants are particularly susceptible to the evil eye. To cure one that has been thus cursed, a female shaman is summoned, who passes a whole egg all over the baby's body. This is then opened, and the evil eye will be seen (by the shaman) in the yolk of the egg. They throw the egg into the river, or bury it in a secret place. Almost this same belief was found in Chontal of Tabasco. (Customs of San Fernando, Chapter VI, Volume I).

868 Children's education is simple and direct. As soon as a boy is old enough to work at all—at about five years of age—he is given a worn-down machete and set to cutting and hauling wood. From then on, following his father, he learns the man's duties. Girls are started with a miniature metate, grinding corn.

872 The Government maintains some public schools, such as at Bachajon Village, in which a few children learn to read and write, but in general great difficulty is found in obtaining scholars. As soon as they are old enough to study, they are strong enough to be of material help in the house and the farm; the parents do not like to relinquish what represents the interest on the investment of the price paid by the father for marriage, and the expense of the children's early years. Under the present administration, however, efforts to educate the Indians are being pushed as never before.

881 Puberty is attended by no observances of any kind. Marriage,
582 which comes fairly early, has been previously described.

764 At death the ceremonial side is greatly emphasized. The funeral rites combine the idea of mourning with a general belief that the soul of the departed lingers for a brief time about his former domicile. When possible, the house of the deceased is abandoned for a short time, during which period, if any small animal is observed about the house, particularly at night, it is supposed to be his soul. No particular powers are ascribed to the soul, as far as could be found out, but it is considered poor company.

As it happened, a man was killed while we were at the Finca Encanto, whose funeral rites we could observe. His wife began mourning for him almost immediately—this being in the middle of the afternoon. His body was taken to another house, neighbour to his own. The true ceremonies began after nightfall. Accompanied
[123] by Lazaro and Señor Aguilar, the writer went up with a gift of

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The performance continued until late that night and began again the next morning. Later in the day the banners were carried to the chapel in procession, with music, and deposited by the altar. The *caporales* led in prayer. The fiesta went on again in the evening.

Christian forms are applied to or mixed with non-Christian rites and ideas to some extent, a confusion resembling the appeal to both saints and native gods in prayer among tribes of Guatemala* and British Honduras.† Much of Christianity is adapted to conform to old, fundamental native concepts.

In the church at Bachajon Village there are fourteen saints beside the tribal patron, St. Jerome. These others each have a special care, as the cornfield, hunting, the rivers, etc., and are prayed to for help in their particular provinces. They are given gifts of cloth, usually red or blue, which is draped about them. Many of them duplicate the functions of non-Christian "guardians," to be described below.

In this connection it may be mentioned that the Zotzil-speaking Indians of Huistan are accustomed to beat their saint (St. Martin) when they have a bad year, and to caress him and anoint him with oil when things go well. We were told that he had lost his nose and both ears due to this practice.

One prayer was dictated to us by Señor Cruz at Toniná, the full text of which is given in Appendix VI, Text I. It is primarily meant for a poor man when making his offering in the cornfield, a use which is indicated by the phrase "health of the earth," but it may also be used in church. The phrase "blood of my flesh" suggests a remniscence of the ancient Maya offerings of blood from the ear, tongue, etc. A free translation is given here.

PRAYER OF A POOR MAN WHO HAS NOT MUCH TO OFFER.

"Do Thou accept, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, what I have gained, and what I have not gained. Do Thou forgive, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, blood of our flesh; our hearts are open, our lips are open. Give health of the earth; protect thy son kneeling here."

Of primary interest to us were the survivals of the old worship. At the time of the Conquest the Spaniards put forth their utmost efforts to suppress the native religion, and the process has gone on

*Sapper, 1925.
†Gann, 1918.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

fragments of prayers to him will be given when discussing medicine. Distinct from the guardian of the cornfields, he is known only by name to the ordinary Indians, and mention of him appeared to alarm them a good deal.

Drunkenness still retains some of its old, ceremonial significance, in its association with fiestas, funeral rites, and particularly with medicine, under which head it will be more fully taken up.

There are a number of beliefs and practices, no matter what their origin, which, as they exist today, must be considered as superstitions rather than religion. Of such a type is the belief mentioned when speaking of hunting, that painting the bullet red would make it go further. This is of interest in the study of survivals, in view of the importance of the colour red in pre-Christian times. It may be equally well argued, however, that the red in this case represents the blood of the animal to be slain. Most of the superstitions are concerned with the *nagual* or the soul.

The set of ideas that constitute Nagualism is derived from ancient and important beliefs. The *nagual*, *tcul-el* (*tcul*, "holy," *-el* "the, the one"), is a companion-spirit to a man, taking the form of some animal. The stronger the *nagual*, the stronger the man, thus one with a jaguar for a familiar could work any kind of magic or other harm on one with a rabbit. We were told both that the *nagual* was assigned by popular consent, due to people's opinion of a man, and that it was seen in a dream. A man who has a quarrel with another will deliberately shoot animals of the species of the other's *nagual*, hoping to hit the particular one associated with his enemy. If that one dies, the man dies, and vice versa. Thus, it is plain that there is no idea of association with a whole class of animals, but only with one individual of a class.

According to Nuñez de la Vega,* in the seventeenth century the *nagual* was assigned by a shaman, who took it from the name of the day on which the individual was born. The child was later caused to see his *nagual* . . . *"se abrazan cariñosamente con su nagual, que por arte diabólica se le apparece muy doméstica y supersticiosamente cariñosa, aunque sea una bestia muy feroz, como leon, tigre, etc."*† According to Sapper (1925) exactly the same practices obtain in Guatemala today, the animal being caused to appear by means of hypnotism.

It is possible that further investigation would show a similar manner of choosing the *nagual* among the modern Tzeltal. How-

*Nuñez de la Vega, 1702, loc. cit.
†Extract in Panlagua, 1908, Page 37.

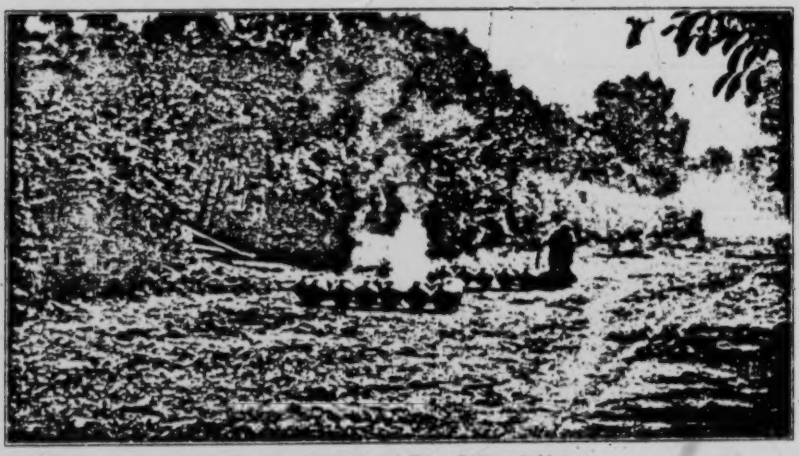
5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Tzotzil NV11

Tze 142 Tze 291

The men are tallish and the majority of them have sparse, black beards. They wear plain, white cotton tunics and short trousers, sashes, and hats of the sombrero type. The women wear the usual short, blue skirts. Their blouses are cut with a square neck, around which are embroidered three bands, each about two centimeters wide, of red, yellow and red. At the corners, little imitation tassels are embroidered in the same colours.

Tze 62 623 Tze [115]

We were told, by an unreliable informant, that this village was remarkable for its independence. Its officials are chosen by the natives alone, and run through a regularly prescribed *cursus honorum* from secretary up to president, and then on to the council of elders. Government laws and orders sent to the village are debated by this council and are not published unless approved by them.



Tze 323

FIG. 333—Amatenango, Chis. Pottery baking.

Tze 584 323 606

We were also told that in case of marriage each party works for his or her prospective in-laws, and that the girl at that time learns pottery making, taking over the mother-in-law's specialty.

Tze 648 434 171

While there was no way of checking up on this information, it is true that there is no Maestro at Amatenango, and that the Indians seem to be an unusually self-respecting and self-reliant lot. Of all the Tzeltal people observed, they were the only ones who seemed to compare with the Zotzil-speaking Chamulas in energy and prosperity.

Tzo 114 137

Returning to ourselves and our trip. We left Tenejapa on the following morning by a winding, broad road climbing to a pass in

273* 184 Tzinacantan (Laughlin 1962). Many more of the Indian communities could be added to this list.

273* 171 In a more general way, the drinking patterns found in Chiapas highlands are observed throughout much of the aboriginal new world. Thus Cooper (1946: 544) says:

> In some regions, particularly the Andean and parts of the forested lowlands, fermented beverages are drunk as a common everyday beverage. Most of the drinking, however, throughout the great brewing area of the West Indies, Middle America and continental South America is in connection with drinking sprees, of a social and/or magicoreligious nature in which groups participate. These drinking bouts are main or attendant features of gatherings of all kinds, especially in connection with hunting, fishing, harvesting, and other food-getting activities, with visiting and hospitality to guests, with war, victory, and peacetime councils, with births, naming, initiations, weddings, and funerals, and with magico-religious festivals, rites, and celebrations--the specific occasions differing from tribe to tribe and from area to area. The sprees may last from a few hours up to many days, usually until all the available liquid is exhausted. The participants imbibe until they reach various stages of intoxication, from mild tipsiness to complete alcoholic coma. Among nearly all people on whom we have information, the bouts are accompanied by and end in the airing of grudges and hurling of insults, which lead to quarrels and fighting, more or less violent and not uncommonly fatal. Sex intrigues and orgies are equally common accompaniments.

121 273* While some of the general characteristics of drinking are known for the New World, detailed ethnographic descriptions are rather rare, causing Cooper (1946), Heath (1962), Simmons (1962), and Washburne (1961), among others, to suggest that more attention needs to be paid to this type of study. The descriptions of drinking performances which have been published on the aboriginal populations of the New World are perceptive if overly brief.

275 216 191 he paid twenty centavos and in return for which payment his name was announced over the loud speaker as well as the name of a person to whom he might wish to "dedicate" the piece.

275 216 191 178 In 1959, there occurred a set of circumstances which permitted the Aguacatenangueros to gain control of the elements of the cantina complex, and in this year cantinas were established permanently in Aguacatenango. As the result of some difficulties in Pinola, the cantineros there were required by the town government to sell or otherwise get rid of their tocadiscos. [432] And three or four of them sold their tocadiscos to the men in Aguacatenango. These gas generator-driven units were set up in various yards in the community, the loudspeakers were mounted on tall poles as is the custom in the neighboring towns, and men came to these door yards when they were drinking to request [171] pieces be played with appropriate dedicatory remarks. The cantineros in Aguacatenango then simply filled out the rest of the cantina complex as they had seen it in the plaza.

442 275 432 439 They began to buy aguardiente by the garafón, most of it from clandestine distillers in the neighboring towns who deliver it to the buyers, and also beer and other distilled beverages, these being delivered by San Cristóbal distributors or bought and transported there by cantineros.

275 Thus the retailers of alcohol drunk by Aguacatenangueros are no longer ladinos and local widows, but local men. Some of

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER V

SUMMING THE MATTER UP

273* 554 There are basically two patterns of drinking among the Aguacatenangueros. The first of these we may define as the internally complex unit ± ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking (but at least one of these). The second of these we will define as intermittent non-cumulative drinking--that is, drinking performances which do not lead to deep drunkenness. These two patterns of drinking performances are associated with large classes of the population. The ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking pattern is expressed by married males. The intermittent non-cumulative drinking pattern is expressed by all other persons (unmarried males and all females).[1] When individuals drink, they are constrained to express one pattern or the other as is congruent with their role. By drinking in a particular way, an individual certifies his membership in a particular role class.

273* 57 885 Adult males (equivalent to males married at least once) drink within the limitations of the ceremonial drinking ± in-

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[184] [171] [1]This particular contrast is not general to all Tzeltal-Tzotzil speakers in the Chiapas highlands.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

tions of self will find a responsive audience only within these linguistic and physical boundaries. The sense of insulation is a denial of regional and national political institutions in which they interact with the other Indians and Ladinos who are part of their present world and share their history. The town itself is a product of the Spanish colonial *congregación*, which drew together diverse Indian populations that had been scattered in small settlements. The outlying barrios are occupied by Indians who have moved out from the center, as well as foreign Indians who had worked in the *fincas*, or large plantations, within the township. These latter people are referred to by a derisive term, *Kurik*, meaning roughly "country hick." Beyond these, and still within the municipal limits, there are a series of *colonias*, settlements populated by Indians who have moved here from other towns and by *mestizos*, or acculturated Indians. These settlers acquired land in the time of Juarez or later in the Cardenas period. Ladino men are called *Kaŝlan* and women *Šinlan;* foreigners who do not appear to be of the country are called *Alemán*, the Spanish term for German.

The focus of this book is on the lives and thoughts of people living within the center. The people of Tzo'ontahal live in a square world, surrounded by a round universe. From the square hole, cut in the earth at the center post of their square house to receive the sacrifice of a live chicken when the house is built, stretches a square village (it appears as a rectangle on the map, but they draw it as a square).[2] The fields are measured in squares of twenty-five arms' breadths, with five handspans measuring the square between each plant. Within this square world, they have elaborated techniques for dealing with spiritual and human co-residents in curing rituals, offerings for crops, burial practices, and baptism rites. Their present cultural stock reveals a selective absorption of Spanish colonial features along with twentieth-century innovations. They have techniques for planting and harvesting milpa, marketing the pottery manufactured in all the households, curing an eclipse of the moon, divining causes of illness and curing the maladjusted social relations which cause it, manufacturing and

2. This view of the world as square is shared by Tzeltal and Tzotzil neighbors in Larraínzar (Holland 1963:69), San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:254), and Pinola (Hermitte 1964). The four-direction concept of the village and world noted by Landa (Tozzer 1941:135) suggests a square-space concept.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

12 a given culture, and that real behavior is a not always successful attempt to approximate those ideals. This formulation has proved inadequate because the actors have a number of ideas as to what appropriate behavior is, and the permissible range of behavior varies in each setting. In questioning informants about the divergences between the account I elicited prior to an event and the acts I observed, I was able to sort out these kinds of variation from those which indicate adaptation or social change.

121 Past events in the history of the community, selected, described, and interpreted by the participants in those events, provide a framework for analyzing structural and social change. Deviation from the norms is not in itself an index to social change, as Faron (1964:202ff.) and others have pointed out. The impetus to social change depends upon awareness of dissonance between the way things are done and social goals. Past events are assigned significance according to this awareness of changing social conditions. Lies about the past and guesses about the future are as important sources of data as history. When people lie about what they do or have done or will do, they lie in terms of the norms, and when they guess, they guess in terms of patterned expectations. These data are of significance in exploring the patterns underlying both formal and dynamic behavior.

829 171 121 Communities such as Tzo?ontahal represent a paradox in Latin America since the Indians pretend to be the same when they are changing, while non-Indians exaggerate the changes which have occurred. In Indian communities, the old cultural forms persist even while the community responds to the changing cues in the environment. The Indians are aware that the corporate community is an important resource base in easing their transition into regional and national networks, not on the bottom rung of the Ladino social ladder as when individuals leave the community, but in a competitively favorable position. Their insistence that they are following the customs of the ancestors is a means of keeping their boundaries intact and protecting themselves against external encroachment.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

waters. The curer brushes the patients with branches of the cooling bushes and herbs growing near the spring, the same ones used in the fiesta of inauguration and the curing ceremonies conducted in the house. The strategy of making the house spirit happy by providing music, dancing, and drinking is repeated at the spring to make the water spirit happy. Some of the family of the patient must remain in the house as "waiters" (*maliwanehetik*) to receive the spirit if it should arrive before its owner. The maliwanehetik must drink as much liquor as the participants at the spring.

The Cave of the Ancestors. The ancestors, the *me?tiktatik*, were believed to have lived in a cave in the hills lying on the peripheries of the township. In the myth that follows, they are given a historical identity as two brothers, the Shuntonetik. Shunton is one of the Tzeltal patronyms of families still living in the town, and in fact the narrator of this version of the myth is Mariano Shunton, whom people consider a descendant of the ancestors.[6]

Formerly a priest asked for a document to be delivered to Antigua in Guatemala. Two messengers were sent with it, but they did not return. Another messenger went and did not return. Four or five more messengers were sent out and did not come back. Finally they sent a man from the cabildo with his younger brother. They left early in the morning, and the elder brother said as he left the other town officials, "If I succeed, I want a fiesta. Look for my sign of four arches [rainbow]."

The two brothers first went to a hill. There they called upon their swayohelik [*animal spirits*]. *First the animal spirit of the elder brother spoke. He said, "I am a stone." Then the animal spirit of the younger brother said, "I am a stick. Moreover, I am a snake and a maguey plant." The elder brother said, "Then we are well off. Let us go."*

6. The same identification of a lineage patronym with the most important sacred hill is found in other Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities (Holland 1963, Hermitte 1964). The pattern may have originated in a period of pre-Conquest expansion when the dominant lineage was assiged a custodial leadership over the new settlement, with their spirits remaining as guardians of the community. Members of the contemporary communities who bear the same patronym do not have any privileged position. These associations of past and contemporary belief are, as Vogt (1964:216) cautions, still hypothetical.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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The curers used to go up to the cave with the alfereces, the mayordomos *[religious officials], the prayer reciters, and the people of the village. When they arrived there, the mayordomos played the guitar and gourd rattle. They lit candles and incense, and the leading curers would go inside the cave. All the people contributed money for the liquor and candles which was collected by the officials. They said that they spoke to the ancestors inside, where there was a lake and a beautiful field. They asked for rain and good crops. They would come out and tell the people waiting outside what the ancestors had said.*

Then one year [in 1957] during the fiesta of the cave, the curers went into the cave. The people said to the curers, "We want to see the owners." The curers said they would come out, but they didn't. The people waited and waited. A boy went inside with the curers. They tried to prevent him, saying, "Won't you be afraid?" He said, "No, let's go in." They entered twenty feet inside the door. The curers said, "Let us stay here." The boy asked them where was the river, the lake, and the milpa that were supposed to be inside. The curer replied, "It is all a lie. Now you know; don't tell the people." But when he came out, the boy told the people it was all a deception.

Since the late 1950s the ritual has changed. The curers no longer officiate, nor do they enter the cave and speak to the ancestors as they did formerly. The *fiscal*, or assistant to the priest, leads the mayordomos, alferreces, and prayer-reciters to the cave on the Day of the Cross and simply replace the palm cross at the entrance to the cave just as they do with the palm crosses fixed to the wooden crosses marking the roads leading into the town. The curers have attempted to revive the belief in the presence of the ancestors by saying that their nephew is in residence now, but no one I ever spoke to believes this. Most people agree that the ancestors live permanently in Chiapa de Corso.[9]

The hill and cave owners. While people try to maintain a good relationship with the spirits of the house, of the springs, and of the Cave of the Ancestors, they avoid the dangerous spirits of the hills and caves

9. A similar myth concerning the departure of the ancestors to go live in Chiapa de Corzo exists in Pinola (Hermitte 1964).

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mother the Moon gets angry. This might cause an eclipse of the moon, and the crops will suffer because there will be no sun.

There is no prohibition, however, against having sexual relations prior to planting or at other crucial stages, as there are for other Maya Indians (Wagley 1941:34).

During the growing season, candles are lit in the milpa as protection against wind as well as robbers, who "lose their luck" when this is done.

The spirits' care of the crops. The crops have souls, given by the spirits, which will be lost if they are not cared for. The spirits "watch over the crops as parents watch over their children." The term for seed (*yal*) is a metaphorical extension of the term for "child of a woman."

The following myths give different, occasionally contradictory versions of the origin of crops. This central truth emerges in all of them: The spirits have given us our crops and will continue to do so as long as we offer thanks in the form of ceremonies and gifts to them.

Santo Tomás [*the patron saint of Oxchuk*] *had intercourse with Santa Lucía. She wanted* [asked for] *the soul of corn, and he gave her the seed of corn. Then there came forth beans, corn, and wheat. But then all the saints of San Bartolo and San Miguel* [*neighboring towns*] *asked for the soul of corn. Then the soul of beans left us and went to hot country. Now it does not grow well in the pueblo. Also, the avocado has gone to Comitán. The matasano and ground beans went to Oxchuk when Santa Lucía fought with Santo Tomás.*

The myth of the origin of crops overlays an older myth which has parallels in other groups of Maya-speaking Indians (Castro 1965, Wagley 1941:20).

Formerly, during a famine, there was hunger. The tzisim, *an insect of Ariola, came to take the corn from underground. Thus the ancestors got their first seed. For this reason, people say that corn was born underground, brought up by the tzisim. But I believe God sent us corn.*

Another version has synthesized the role of the saints and that of the animal agent.

bly similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now. Just as a man defines himself as an agriculturalist, a woman defines herself as a potter. Men complain if their wives do not produce pottery, and I know of two cases of separation on the grounds that the woman was not fulfilling one of her functions as housewife by helping the family budget with pottery production. Most women like to make pottery: it helps them to pass the day, and they say they would be bored without it. Some of the women who have gone with their husbands for extended stays in hot country have tried to make pottery out of clays available there, but because of its inferior quality, they have not had much success. Unlike women of neighboring towns, the women of Tzo'ontahal usually do not accompany their husbands to the fincas "because they have their work at home."

Making pottery. The women make a wide variety of household and ceremonial objects, but the item which has the widest market distribution is the water storage jar (See Plate 7). They introduce new items in response to local needs, such as the funnel used in channeling liquor into large containers from the retort of the still. One vessel which is disappearing from production is the large ceremonial cooking pot. The only woman who knew how to do this (or who admitted to knowing, since it is unpaid work) died in the 60s, and no one has replaced her. One woman who had a reputation for eccentricity introduced several elaborate vases and ashtrays. Her creative imagination was best exemplified in a combined ashtray and vase which featured four frogs poised on the lip of the tray, presumably drinking from a fountain. Reina (1962–1963) has pointed out that women of the Guatemalan community of Chinautla who wish to be accepted in the community must limit themselves to conventional forms, and the same restriction seems to apply in Tzo'ontahal.

The women of a household work as a group in collecting clay and in firing pottery. Clay is free since it is found in the communally owned hills on the perimeter of the town. It is collected preferably during the rainy season when it is easier to gather from the open gorges in which it is found, but if the supply runs out, other trips are made. All of the women of the household go, sometimes with neighbors or relatives in groups of five or six. They collect large clay balls weighing from forty to fifty pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline.

(see plates following p.198..Analyst)

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434 592 [241] [423] [464] irrigated land in addition to their one-half hectare of ejido land. He supplements his income with work in the sawmill for some periods of the year, at a wage of 90 pesos a week, making a total of 165 pesos in the ten days recorded. The family spent 81 percent or 36 pesos of the budget on food, 13 percent or 6 pesos on clothing 2.3 percent or 1 peso on household supplies, and 3 percent or 1.20 pesos on medicines.

434 592 241 262 These family budgets show that most of the corn and beans can be supplied by subsistence agriculture. Garden crops of chile, chayote (a green vegetable which produces a fruit and an edible root), and fruit trees, including lime and anone, are raised in the house yard. Tomatoes, fruit, and cabbages are bought in neighboring market towns.

434 592 • 171 In comparison with household consumption expenditures in the United States and other foreign countries, these budgets show a much higher proportion of cash income spent on food. The percentages of food expenditures range from 63.2 to 97.0 in the families studied, whereas in the United States the average percentage is only 26.3, in Argentina 59.2, and in Zambia 66.5 (Conference Board Economic Almanac 1967). This reflects the fact that the people of Tzo'ontahal have no expenses for house rental, that wood for fuel and light is available in communally owned forests, and that most of the household utensils such as jars, jugs, and bowls, are [125] locally produced. However, failure to report items must also be noted—no one reported purchasing matches although everyone uses them, and only half of the families reported use of soap, although this is universally purchased.

433 241 A gross estimate of the land necessary to fulfill consumption needs of corn for a family of two adults and four children would be approximately one and a half to two hectares. The yearly average consumption of corn for such a family is about 2,000 kilograms. One hectare produces from 1,200 to 2,000 kilograms in addition to 80 kilograms of beans. Of the 299 families whose land ownership is given in Table 5, 142 have only one hectare of ejido land and 85 more have only one-half additional hectare of privately owned land. This means that 227 households, or 61 percent do not have enough land to meet their subsistence needs. 160 household heads

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of what seeds grow best in which soils. Good, fast-growing seed is not sowed indiscriminately but is limited to use on more fertile irrigated lands. The size of a family's holdings is the primary factor in deciding what proportion of the three major crops—corn, beans, and wheat—they will grow. Where they grow each of these crops depends upon the quality of the soil categorized by topological criteria, consistency, color, and proved fertility. Decline in productivity is attributed to wearing out of soil fertility because of overuse as well as to loss of the soul of crops. The first explanation leads to adaptive behavior, in which the land is "rested" or turned over to cattle grazing, and to crop rotation, alternating wheat and corn crops. The second explanation leads to adjustive behavior in which the agriculturalist takes care of ceremonial obligations to the saints and to the "owner of the milpa."

The scheduling of activities is determined by the knowledge of time required for maturing of the crop and by expectations concerning seasonal fluctuations as they affect rainfall. Although the farmers have some control over water supply through irrigation, dependence on rainfall for the non-irrigated fields means that sporadic appeals to the ancestors or saints are made to ensure rain in the growing period. These rituals are not as integrated in the agricultural production cycle as they are in the neighboring towns of Chamula and Oxchuk or in the colonia of San Vicente where irrigation facilities are lacking.

Traditional techniques of pottery production are maintained by a tightly organized schema of procedures which allows for little variation in technique or form. Learning of productive techniques is facilitated by a fine segmentation of tasks. Knowledge of local clays and tempering has been stabilized for at least five hundred years of occupation in this area. Women's work is entirely lacking in rituals to ensure the success of their efforts.

These given sets of cognitive orientations in economic activities do not exclude the possibility of considering new ways or means of doing things. Agriculturalists have tried the new seed introduced by agronomists, but have found them wanting in their resistance to mold, in the case of corn, and in their portability, in the case of wheat. Fertilizers have been tried, but the credit costs proved too high for the agriculturalists to continue. Women were willing to try a kiln in place of open firing, but either the model introduced was faulty or they were not taught to use it properly.

Chapter 4

Family Authority and Community Control

All residents of the center consider themselves to be "true men" descended from the ancestors who lived in the cave. In Murdock's terminology (1965:63), the Indian community constitutes a *deme*, or local group of genealogically related residents who cannot trace the exact kinship tie. This sense of kinship sustains a model of paternal authority for assigning positions of power and prestige in the wider community. The key to persistence of the Indians as a culturally distinct population lies in these age-ordered hierarchies sanctioned by the ancestors and the elders who act as their intermediaries. The reward for remaining within the social control system is security and the right to their guardianship; the sanction against violating the norms is exile or exposure to the evil spirits they hold at bay.

The bilateral extension of age-relative collateral terms to all members of the same side of the dual division is a successful adaptation of the kinship model to the government of a compact nucleated community. The system of terminology is similar to that of the neighboring nucleated settlement of Aguacatenango which shares many of the same features of behavior (Hunt n.d., Metzger in Romney 1967:231). These systems are closer to those of the Coatlan Mixe (Merrifield and Hoogshagen 1961) and the Chinantec of Palantla (Merrifield 1959) than they are to the nearby Tzeltal-speaking communities of Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes 1947) and Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947). In the case of the Mixe and Chinantec, the strong emphasis on relative age is correlated with age-graded positions in the political-religious hierarchy (Merrifield 1959, Merrifield and Hoogshagen 1961:225).[1] The lineage-clan pattern found in the vacant center, or *paraje*,

1. In the Coatlán, Oaxaca case of Mixe Indians cited by Merrifield and Hoogshagen (1961) they state that the classificatory terms utilizing the criteria of age relative to ego

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614 type of communitives such as Oxchuk and Cancuc depends on communal
621 land holding and contiguity in residence of the agnatic kin. The corporate
171 identity of these groups is breaking down with the fragmentation of land
601 holdings and movement of men from the paraje of their fathers (Guiteras Holmes 1947, Villa Rojas 1946).

601
602 Symmetrical bilateral extension of kinship terms can be seen in Figure 3. Relative age modifies generation in terms for collaterals. In ego's generation, older brother and sister are distinguished from younger siblings. In parents' generation, siblings of father younger than father are referred to and called elder brother or sister, and those older than father are called father or mother. In grandparent's generation, siblings older than grandparent are called grandfather or grandmother, and those younger than grandparent are called father and mother. If the grandparent should die, leaving only a younger sibling, the term grandparent is used referentially and vocatively. There is no sex distinction made between siblings or collaterals younger than ego in the referential terminology. Referential terminology [193] for lineals younger than ego does not make sex distinctions, but the distinction may be made with one's own children by using the possessive form of the vocative term, such as "my little man" (*ḥtatil*) or "my little woman" (*ḳantzil*). Women refer to their children with the term *ʔalal*. The stem *ʔal* signifies the verb to give birth. Men refer to their children as *niẖ'an*. The collective term for children of both parents combines the two terms in a possessive form, *ḳalniẖ'an*, our children.

The bilateral system of Amatenango is not in conformity with the Spanish model. Along with similar systems mentioned for Aguacatenango, Coatlan, and Palantla, it differs from the Spanish model in that collaterals in ascending generations are classified with lineal relatives, and age relative to ego modifies generational separation. These systems appear to be an [174]

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obscures that of generation. Just as in Tzoʔontahal, all members of the community address others they meet on the street with the term indicating age relationship to ego, and grandfather and grandmother terms are reserved for the very old. The authors conclude that this terminological behavior reflects the rigid age-grading found in social groups throughout the community. I would venture a generalization that requires further research to the effect that age-grading provides a pattern for appropriate behavior among members of endogamous, closely settled communities whereby conflict is reduced by channeling competition for prestigeful positions. [601] [171]

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852 608 571 788 The church ceremony is followed by another ceremony in the house of the child's parents. As the group returning from the church enters the house, they are greeted with the pat'o'tan by the maliwanehetik who are waiting for them in the house. As they enter, each of the returning party says, "You go forward, kumpare." They embrace all of the waiting party, an act which establishes their relationship as compadres with the entire company. When the padrinos leave, the grandparents and parents of the child go to a spot before the eaves outside the house; there the father of the child serves liquor to the padrinos and the grandparents of the child. The drink is called "the finale as the compadres leave." The group must finish the entire liter "since it is a gift," and if there are only one or two grandparents, they may get fairly drunk. As the compadres leave, the grandpaernts say, "Over the soil, over the mud where you take your holy godchild, your holy flower, your holy candle." The child, referred to metaphorically as holy flower, holy candle, is identified with the most sacred symbols of the culture.[2]

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608 571 171 The emphasis on the group relationship in Tzo'ontahal contrasts with the form of compadrazgo found in the central plateau of Mexico where the dyadic tie between two compadres provides flexibility in achieving instrumental ends in political or economic life.[3] Some of the new leaders in economic enterprises are beginning to emphasize the dyadic contract in their compadrazgo relationships to achieve political support, but its greatest importance is still based on creating or reinforcing group solidarity.

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Betrothal and Marriage

The Indians of Tzo'onthal are initiated into the community of the living and depart from it with ceremonies deriving from the Spanish colonial culture. The courtship and marriage ceremonies continue indigenous re-

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852 571 608 she later attended the household ceremony, she was never called kumare because of the omission of this act.

2. See Laughlin (1962) on the symbolism of the candle and flower in Zinacantan.

171 3. In regard to the occasions and the kind of respect relation established, compadrazgo in Tzo'ontahal is similar to the institution in other parts of Mexico (Foster 1963, Nader 1964, Wolf and Mintz 1950). The difference lies in the elaboration of the number of ties acquired through compadrazgo at each event.

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suitable, the president and judges give permission to the curers to allow him to enter the profession at this time. The novice provides three liters of liquor which are drunk "in common" by the curers and the civil officials.

There is some evidence that, formerly, novice curers were asked to yield the soul of one of their children:

My dead husband was given permission by Julian Gomez, the leader of the curers of Ahk'olnantik, to enter the curing profession. When my husband told me he wanted to cure, he said that Julian had asked him for a child "for the ancestors to eat." My husband was going to give a child of his brother since we didn't have any, but I said it would be a pity. Then he said he would give trago. This he did. I forget how many liters.

When the contagion came, the curers went to take out the heat. A policeman called my dead husband, and he went. The policeman said the leading curer had called him. The judges told him, "It is better for you to enter in common with the other curers."

He began to cure. The curers then asked what offering we were going to give.

"We have no children," said my husband. "We will give you liquor. I cannot give my brother's child or my sister's children."

He must have brought them about ten or twelve liters of trago and two packs of cigarettes.

The third soul, swayohel, may be acquired, or one may be born with it. Those who acquire the third soul by capture of the soul of a dead person within twenty days after the death are considered to be potentially dangerous. They are more likely to use the soul for evil than those who have acquired it from the ancestors at birth. Swayoheles can be acquired from a saint named ?Ahau in the neighboring town of Oxchuk.[1] The following account illustrates how one asks this saint for a swayohel:

If you go to the saint with a black face named ?Ahau with two candles of twenty cents you can ask for a swayohel. You say, "I want one č'ulel that is very strong. I have an enemy. I need one." You sleep there; and wake

1. Lombardo Otero (1944:73) says that in Oxchuk, Mukulajau, or Chulajau, is identified with Trinidad, and is associated with the pigeon, which is the animal spirit of powerful curers.

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"He looked for trouble!" Domingo replied.
I said, "You killed my husband!"
He said, "It was not I! It was not I!"
It doesn't serve to enter curing early. People will kill you right away. Another young man wanted to enter. The curers did not permit him since they said he was a witch. People heard he was a witch, and they killed him. He was the same age as my husband [*about twenty-seven*].

The curers who have survived to an old age were introduced into the profession by an elder relative. They choose their clients carefully, refusing to cure a man who is on the point of death, and remaining within their own section of the dual division. These rules of survival are ignored by some of the younger men who wish to impress their elders with their powers.

The changing image of the curers. The curers of today are unfavorably compared with those of the past who used their power for good. The prototype of the old curer was the fearful Tatik Ča?uk, Lord of the Lightning, possibly a local manifestation of the Maya god Chac.[2] The dialectic of power is exemplified in his control over beneficial and destructive forces. His beneficence is demonstrated in his ability to bring rain to crops, while his vengeance is revealed in lightning bolts which can kill people and destroy houses. Anyone who is struck by lightning is believed to have had some sin for which the Tatik Ča?uk has punished him. His destructive force is equated with a rifle—called "the elder brother of the Lord of Lightning"—and with the "heat" which brings death in illnesses. His habitation is believed to be the Cave of the Star where the heat which causes epidemics is found.

The curers were intermediaries for the Tatik Ča?uk in their control over both destructive and beneficial forces. Formerly, the swayohel of the curers patrolled the streets of the town to prevent the entry of evildoers bringing heat. It is in this role that they are referred to as me'iltatil. If an epidemic occurred, the two leading curers from each side of the town con-

2. In other Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities, the god Ča?uk is named as the chief figure from pre-Conquest theology (Hermitte 1964, Holland 1963:93).

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Chapter 7

The Formal Organization of Local Government

The formal organization of civil and religious offices in Tzo'ontahal is based on the pattern of a locally independent, democratically elected officialdom introduced by the Spaniards. Variations in the pattern from that of other towns of the highlands have resulted from differences of interpretation of the functions, the range of power, and the course of succession of offices. This flexibility has preserved structural continuity as organizational adjustments are made. The Indians have transformed an alien governing mechanism into one that meets their changing needs and contributes to their independence in the modern world.

The independence of the local township has a base in the pre-Conquest social organization of Chiapas. Robert Adams (1961:347) has noted the absence of architectural or other features indicative of functional specialization that would arise in a politically integrated region. At the time of the Conquest, Chiapas was divided into warring principalities, revealing the extreme political fragmentation of the area (Calnek 1962:8). Each town was divided from the neighboring town by *mojones,* hilled-up boundaries (ibid:36). A minimum of political unity was achieved by holding certain towns subject to the dominance of others (ibid:27); local autonomy persisted, however, in the administration of landholding as a community enterprise.

During the colonial period the Spanish Crown established the independence of towns directly under their control and provided them with a civil-religious hierarchy which has persisted as the form of government to the present (Carrasco 1961: Wolf 1957b).

Comparative studies of the civil-religious hierarchy indicate the range of

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variation on the Spanish colonial model (Camara 1952; Cancian 1963, 1965; Carrasco 1961; Siverts 1964; Tax 1964). In the many community studies of the highland Maya, we have reports of the roles and functions of the hierarchy as they are played out in a specific context (Adams 1957; Bunzel 1952; Guiteras Holmes 1961; La Farge 1947; La Farge and Byers 1931; MacArthur 1961; M. Nash 1955; Siverts 1960, 1964; Valladares 1957;

Fig. 6. Civil and Religious Officials •

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Officials in the town hall
- President
- Secretary
- Síndico

Officials in the church
- Fiscal
- Women Prayer-reciters

Principales (Krinsipaletik)
- Second Principal
- First Principal

Judges (Alkaletik)
- First Judge, Alannantik
- Second Judge, Ahk'olnantik
- Assistant Judge, La Grandeza
- Assistant Judge, Madronal

Regidores (Rehiroletik)
- First Regidor
- Second Regidor
- Third Regidor
- Fourth Regidor

Policemen (Mayoletik)
- 2 First Police
- 2 Second Police
- 2 Third Police
- 2 Fourth Police
- 2 Last Police

Cofrades (Kobrarietik)
- Cofrade of Sacramento
- Cofrade of Santa Lucía
- Cofrade of San Pedro the Martyr
- Cofrade of San Francisco

Mayordomos (Martomaetik)
- Mayordomo of Christ of Ascension
- Mayordomo of San Antonio
- Mayordomo of Virgin Rosario
- Mayordomo of San José
- Mayordomo of Santiago

Alfereces † (Alperesetik)
- First Past Alférez
- Remains Past Alférez
- Second Past Alférez
- New Alférez

Assistants to cofrades (alib'aletik)
- Assistant to Sacramento
- Assistant to Virgin Santa Lucía

Assistants to elders for lesser saints (Nič'aniletik)

• Boxed-in terms refer to age-graded hierarchies. Other posts are outside of this "ladder" as explained in text.

† Alfereces may be chosen after taking higher posts in the religious hierarchy, but cannot become first or second regidor before serving in this post.

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Vogt 1965; Wagley 1949; Wisdom 1940; Zabala 1961). Comparison of the structure and functioning of the hierarchy reveals differing applications of the same principles of allocating roles (age, sex, territorial identification, and previous service) and differing assignments of the same tasks (administrative, judgment, and maintenance).

In this chapter, I shall analyze the civil-religious hierarchy in Tzo'ontahal as a formally prescribed system of roles and behavior. The data on which the analysis is based are: (1) the system of roles and the principles of allocation, (2) careers in office of household heads, (3) instrumental behavior prescribed for officials, and (4) ritual behavior. The following chapter will be concerned with the exercise of power within the limits set by the formal organization of offices.

The Matrix of Roles

Civil officials. Civil offices in Tzo'ontahal are a segmented, ranked set of posts, each of which has an internally age-graded ranking. Outside of these segments are two leadership positions, those of president and his assistant, *síndico,* which are not controlled by the same criteria of entry—service in lower posts of the civil and religious hierarchies and age. Multiple posts at the same level have equal representation of officials from the upper and lower divisions of the center, Ahk'olnantik and Alannantik, and single posts are held alternately by residents of each side. Theoretically, the post of president should alternate as well, but in fact the scarcity of qualified candidates limits consideration of this condition. Since 1948, of the twelve presidents, only four were from Ahk'olnantik.

The four ranked segments (Fig. 6) from higher to lower are *krinsipaletik,* or principales, *alkaletik,* or judges, *rehiroletik,* or regidores, and *mayoletik,* or policemen. The relative rank of the post is expressed in terms of its power, and the relative rank of the post-holder in terms of age (the term used to describe an older office holder, *mas mamalil,* has the extended meaning of greater power [1]). Age-ranking of officials complements

1. Siverts (1965) points out that in Cancuk the term *mamal,* or elder, was applied to a young man who held a post of high authority because of his skills in literacy and language. By terminological reference, he was graduated into the senior age group.

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undertaking the burden of office is still phrased as a means of maintaining the internal system of security. Tying the new official to personal supporters in the household setting is a significant means of integrating the Spanish governmental system with the preexisting authority systems.

The emphasis on continuity is evident in the prescribed pattern of behavior stressing repetition of bodily and verbal performances. Repetition of behavior, the essence of all ritual, provides that fulfillment of expectations which links the present with the past.[5] The nakawanehetik, who are the repositories of knowledge of the customs of the ancestors, are stage directors of acts performed in the house. Behavioral replication is reinforced by verbal references in the pat?o?tan to performing "that which our mothers, that which our fathers did." When any act has lost the wider context of belief in which it must at one time have been embedded, the reason given for the performance is simply "so was the custom of our ancestors." As an example of this, the officials in the president's house on the day of the inauguration stand and bow in the direction of the rising sun. A few informants have heard of the God of the East, Santo Ariyó, the saint in charge of household gods who gave to the people corn, wheat, beans, and cattle, and they say that it is in recognition of him that people turn to the East and bow their heads in all household performances. They further state that in this act they defend the house against the entry of the devil. But the mythological context which might explain the logic of this association is lost. These behavioral sherds, when cut off from the belief system which they dramatized, survive in perpetuating the customs of the ancestors.

The link with the past is also seen in the presence of both new and old officials in the town hall, providing a setting in which the succession of the new officials is acknowledged by the old. The role of the principales is of the greatest importance in establishing continuity, significantly emphasized in the fact that it is they who hand over the symbol of authority, the

5. Bunzel (1952:251) has pointed to this familiarity of ritual sets in a variety of ceremonials as providing ties with the past in the inauguration in Chichicastenango, and Vogt (1966) has shown the significance of replication in the ceremonials of Zinacantan. Another function served by behavorial replication is that which Leach (1967:2) pointed out for verbal replication in myths and prayers: it overcomes the "static" of less significant background interference.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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776 177 The two groups of spirits differ in their traditional characteristics and functions. The spirits of the heaven "look to see where everyone is going," "look and listen to all that people say," "are very alive," and "are of the world." In contrast to them, the spirits of the church "are not alive," "do not speak," "do not do anything," "are only of the pueblo." Thus the spirits of the heaven are universal; those of the church are particular. The saints' images which are kept in the church of the town are not considered to represent the same person as these same images in other towns. This [191] conception of saints as local and distinct personalities is found in other Maya Indian towns and differs from that of orthodox Catholicism.

The lord spirits of the heaven. The spirits of the heaven are God the Father, *Tios Tatil,* God the Son, *Tios Niˀanil,* and the Holy Spirit, *Spiritusantú.* Table 27 indicates the identification made between these major figures and pre-hispanic spiritual entities.

[192] TABLE 27. Pre- and Post-Hispanic Equivalents of the Lord Spirits of the Heavens

Post-Hispanic spirits		*Pre-Hispanic spirits*
Tios Tatil (God the Father)	=	B'alamilal (The World) B'ankilal (Elder Brother)
Tios Niˀanil (God the Son, Jesus Christ)	=	Sčeb'al B'ankilal (Second Brother)
Spiritusantú (Holy Spirit)	=	Tatik K'ahk'al (The Lord Sun) K'oš (referential, Last Child) Šut (vocative, proper name) ˀihtz'in (Younger Brother)
Meˀ Santú (Virgin Mary)	=	Meˀtikčič ˀu (Our Grandmother the Moon)

776 539 177 The "mystery" of the Trinity is "explained" in the following story in which pre-hispanic deities are identified with the Christian deities.

Many years ago, the Lord Sun [Tatik K'ak'al] *did not walk as now. He was only hanging in the heavens. Our Grandmother the Moon* [Meˀtik Čič ˀu] *bore three sons named God the Father* [Tios Tatil], the Elder *Brother; God the Son, Second Brother; and a third named K'oš, or Last One. The first brother did not turn out bright nor did the second brother. It was the youngest brother, K'oš, who was the brightest. When the Elder*

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"Is there food for it?" asked his mother.

"I am going to plant a milpa to feed the little pig. You stay here and watch the little pig and I will go."

"Yes, I will care for it," said his mother.

K'oš went to plant his milpa. As he was leaving, he said to his mother, "I will return in the afternoon."

His mother said, "I shall await you in the afternoon."

When K'oš returned, his mother asked, "How is your milpa?"

He replied, "It isn't ready. Tomorrow I am going to burn it because it is just a forest."

The next day, K'oš returned to his milpa. Everything he had cut had grown back in his milpa. He asked himself, "How did it spring up? I am going to wait and see who is causing the trouble." He waited and saw a bird entering the milpa. The bird said, "I don't want to have the woods burned!"

K'oš said, "I am going to start the fire."

He started the fire, and then he said, "I am going to where the day meets the heaven." He picked up the fire of his milpa, saying, "My brother does not know how to walk. I am going to walk around and return."

Now the day walks in front and the night walks behind.[2]

The story has an aftermath which describes the continuing relationship between the Lord Sun, K'oš, and his mother, Our Grandmother the Moon.

The Lord Sun sees all of our sins and puts them in a book. If anyone has sexual relations in the milpa, he puts it down. When he sees this, he gets angry because he walks alone. He wants to end the world since he does not endure our sins. But Our Grandmother the Moon does not want

2. There are other versions of this story in neighboring Tseltal-speaking communities. Castro (1959:24–31) gives an Oxchuk version in which the identification of the three brothers with the Christian Trinity is not made. But, the vocative term used in the Tzo^{9}-ontahal version, is given as the name of the youngest brother, who succeeded in giving a new sun to the world. But in outwitting his brothers with the honey, Sut killed them rather than turning them into pigs. A Chol version (Whittaker and Warkentin 1965) is closer to that of Oxchuk.

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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to make a great deal of noise by striking hoes, firing rifles, blowing the horns of bulls, and striking gourds. The logic of this behavior can be understood from the following statement of an informant: "The sickness of the moon is a result of the conflict of the sun with the moon. The noise we made frightens the father sun so that he will stop fighting the moon. If he were to win, the people would die, and new people would be born with only one leg and one arm."[4]

We have in this story what appears to be an overlay of post-hispanic mythology, in which the Devil personifies evil forces, superimposed on a prehispanic mythological identification of the powers of both good and evil in single cosmological deities. Whereas in the previous myth it is the Devil, the King of the Jews, who caused all of the children of Jesus to die and to be reborn with only one arm and one leg, in this statement it is the sun who can effect the same reversal of nature. The sun, Tatik K'alik, has the power to cause the milpa to grow, but by staying out too long, it can burn the crop. Similarly lightning, Tatik Ča'uk, may bring rain, but can destroy the milpa with the winds that precede the rain or kill man and destroy his house. Man is responsible for determining how the force of the gods will be directed.

The guardianship of the sun and the moon over the people of the world serves to control or at least restrain the behavior of people. Since both of them "walk alone," without companionship, they become jealous if they see sexual relations performed by people in the milpa. Since all legal sexual relations are carried out in the relative privacy of the house, it is only those who seek illicit relationships who retreat to the milpa, and so this restraint has a prohibitive effect on unsanctioned sexual behavior. If the moon sees someone in the milpa at night, she refuses to retire and stays out, not letting her son the sun rise. Similarly, when the sun sees someone in the milpa in the daytime, he refuses to retire, burning the milpa with his hot rays.

The lord spirits of the east. There is another category of spirits which is ill defined and not many people know. These are the spirits of

4. The same behavior, that of making noise during an eclipse, is found in the Maya Indian community of Cantel, Guatemala, but there it is interpreted as a means of calling the sick grandmother back to life by showing that her grandchildren care about her.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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I do not know if it is so. I just heard that in a story told." He then referred back to the story of K'oł, the younger brother who took over the task of carrying the sun from his elder brother, to explain how the sun's movement started.

Misfortunes caused by lightning, winds, and drought are explained as failures in social relations among people of the community or between the members of the community and the spirits. Restraint in their own conduct, fulfillment of their ceremonial obligations, and show of respect to the spirits are the only safeguards against such casualties.

Caring for the Lord Spirits of the Church

The relationships established with the spirits of the church contrast to those with the spirits of the heaven in the following ways: First, the upkeep and maintenance of the spirits of the church is delegated to appointed representatives, the mayordomos, who carry the burden for the community; "all the people of the world," on the other hand, are responsible at all times for avoiding behavior which would incur the wrath of the sun and moon. Second, the obligations to the spirits of the church are standardized, while those to the spirits of heaven are ill-defined and involve avoidance of offense rather than positive expectations. Third, duties toward the church spirits are performed in repetitive events following the calendrical cycle of fiestas, while obligations to the spirits of the heaven are fulfilled sporadically, as during an eclipse of the moon or a drought.

The major strategy in dealing with the spirits of the church is to give them a fiesta. Big fiestas are associated with the big four saints. These fiestas have been the responsibility of the top mayordomos, called kobraria, and until 1966, of the alfereces. Big fiestas also occur on the Day of the Dead, the Day of Santiago, the Day of San Pedro and San Pablo, the Day of the Kings, and during Easter Week. The pattern of fiestas will be described first, followed by a detailed description of the inauguration of the alfereces, witnessed in 1965 before the institution was abolished the following year, and the fiestas of Santiago and Easter Week.

Religious fiestas occur in an annual cycle of ceremonies based on the Catholic calendar. In Tzo'ontahal the Maya calendar no longer exists, even in the twenty-day cycle that constituted a month found in the neighboring towns of Oxchuk, Larraínzar, and Chenalhó.

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towns and explain small-scale change over short periods of time. The contextual description of behavioral details may eventually overcome the lack of replicable events available to laboratory science. By specifying all the conditions of the ritual, it is possible to separate the unique from the patterned components. At one level, the analysis consists in indicating the repetitive patterns and the continuity of beliefs which these exemplify. At another level, rituals can be analyzed as psychodramas in which the individual adopts a social role. The dialectical connection between the new official and his role is established in the obligations he carries out.

When people are asked "why" something is done, they continually shift between the social and psychological levels. "We do this because it was the custom of our ancestors," they will frequently say. When pressed further, they reduce their level of response to the individual, saying, "The women don their husband's ceremonial hat because they wish to hide their face because of embarrassment." Both answers are true interpretations, differing only in the level of social complexity at which the enquiry is directed. One can go farther in elaborating the latent significance of the ritual acts. To continue with the same example, the dance drawing the wife into a public performance was performed because, as one informant said, "she too has done work for the fiesta" (she made pottery to raise the money). The dance gains the favor of the saints, as is demonstrated in the Virgin's tactics with the Devil, and in the curing rituals with the spirits of the house and of the springs. Dancing establishes a relationship to the group: the women dancing in the center of the circle formed by their husbands revolving around them are incorporated as an integral part of a sacred social unit.

Rituals provide a key to the psychic dynamics of the group since they deal with these explicitly. The ritual acts are predicated on expected individual responses. For example, since liquor overcomes embarrassment,[5] it

5. Bennett and Zingg (1937) have stated the even more dramatic social significance of liquor among the Tarahumara. Social intercourse in this mountain tribe is impossible without liquor. Conditioned as they are in isolated nuclear family groups to retreat at the sign of an outsider, the Tarahumara need something to relax their embarrassment and fear in large gatherings. Landa (Tozzer 1941) has commented at length on the compulsory drinking at ceremonials of the Yucatecan Maya.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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tions have decreased. Their major responsibility is to hold the plate in which the contributions for the fiestas are deposited by the police. Formerly, the fact that the principales also held the money until it was spent lent dignity and prestige to this function. Now that the money is turned over to the treasurer, who also keeps the accounts, passing the plate gives them a sense of shame. When I asked why the principales lost authority, the first response was cast in terms of behavior: my informant, a former president, pointed out that it was because they did not attend the town hall every day. When I asked why they did not appear, the reply was reformulated in functional terms: they did not come because the laws and acts that are raised and interpreted in the town hall are written in Spanish, and the principales could not read or write. As a consequence, the balance of power has shifted to the posts of president and síndico, while the framework in which the officials act has remained.

Challenge by the Civil Officials of the Power of the Curers

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The autonomy of the highland Indian corporate community has rested on the retention of social control by local leaders. This local leadership, which has survived over four hundred years of domination by Spanish colonial and national rule, is based on power derived from two sources: (1) control over life and death by men who claim to possess an animal spirit and/or (2) ability to devine or predict the future, such as the calendar priests have (Nuñez de la Vega 1702:19).[1] The belief in power derived

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1. Bishop Nuñez de la Vega repeatedly inveighs against the "maestros Nahualistas." This is summarized in an excerpt, which I have translated, from his book (1702:19):

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> Almost two hundred years after the light of evangelism dawned, the Indians in most of the Kingdom of New Spain and Guatemala are found full of their primitive errors, superstitions, and misdeeds such that there is hardly a single pueblo where each year there are not deaths brought about by witches, and houses and families known to have, as an inheritance acquired from father to son, evil powers so abominable that they are viewed with great fear by the rest of the Indians. With only a glance and certain words, with which they invoke the Devil, they can end life or cause their victim to go mad with great pains and stupendous illnesses, and the result is that they inflict their rivals for very slight pretexts. We exile them and other spiritual performers from the church, and when the ministers and judges try to verify what happened to the sick ones, all

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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The belief in power derived from animal spirits was probably influenced by the Toltec belief in nahualism, or transformation of people after death into animals (Calnek 1962:22). The Toltec belief originated in the period of Mexican influence but had many local indigenous manifestations (Foster 1944). The integration of the two systems of power was brought about by calendar priests controlling the distribution of animal spirits (Calnek 1962:19). The degree of retention of calendrical knowledge and of belief in witchcraft gives us one of the best indices of acculturation in the area.[2] In Tzo?ontahal there is no remnant of calendar divination for ceremonial or predictive use. However, witchcraft based on belief in animal spirits continues to be an important factor in the contest for power. The technique of secrecy, of presenting a united front in the face of attempts by the outside Ladinos to tamper with the local social control system, persists to this day in the town.

An endemic problem in communities dominated by belief in witchcraft is control over the evil power of witches. The traditional control system in Tzo?ontahal operated through the guardianship of three sets of power-holders who checked up on each other: the ancestors, the curers, and the judges. The guardianship of the ancestors consisted in preventing any child possessed of a swayohel from the devil from growing up to abuse his power and in keeping any evil spirits from entering the town. The curers,

the Indians, whether out of cowardice or deceit, withdraw their accusation or claims, so that it is impossible to convict the evildoers for punishment; and for lack of sufficient proof they cannot be punished, or if there is enough basis to put them in prison, they sometimes disappear and flee to another jurisdiction and hide, denying their place of origin or changing their name.

2. In Oxchuk, calendar experts with the ability to divine the future still set the days for carrying out Catholic fiestas according to the twenty-day Maya ceremonial cycle. Each of the spirits symbolizing the twenty days wielded the power of good or evil. This provided the basis for predicting. When Villa Rojas studied the town in the 1940s, elders of patrilineal lineages controlled the behavior of members by causing sickness brought by their *lab*, or animal spirit (Villa Rojas 1947). In San Pedro Chenalhó, the principales exercise power through their *wayhel*, or animal spirit (Guiteras Holmes 1961). Nahuales of leaders of the patrilineages and principales are feared and respected in Larraínzar, although there is a growing discontent with their oppressive control (Holland 1963). Men believed to have thirteen nahuales figure as guardians and avengers for individuals in Pinola society, although the Indians of this community no longer have a hierarchy of civil offices through which their prestige can be publicly validated (Hermitte 1964).

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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party to go to the spring, at least one relative remains in the house to greet the soul if it should precede the curing party.

Behavior in household rituals is described in Chapters 1, 5, and 8.

The Cabildo

The cabildo, called by the people of the town the "cold house,"[1] was built following the revolution of 1915, when Piñeda's revolutionary soldiers destroyed the original colonial structure. The tiles of the roof were confiscated from a finca which the Indians invaded in 1941 in an unsuccessful attempt to gain additional lands. When they were unable to maintain their hold on the land, they burned the owner's house and took the tiles to the town center where they remain as a symbol of their defiant action. They refer to this event with pride. The cabildo houses the jail, equipped with a barred wooden door, in one of its wings, and the Ejido Commission office in the other.

Within the cabildo, each official has his established place. The cabildo is furnished with a table at which the president and síndico sit on wooden chairs made in the Indian town of Chamula. Four benches lining the walls on either side of the entry provide seating for the civil officials. On the right side (looking out at the plaza) sit the judges in order of rank; the regidores, in similar sequence follow them. The principales, and formerly the alfereces, sit on the left side when they appear for ceremonial occasions. This spatial allocation establishes drinking and greeting order as well. Visitors can go directly from one to another in the formal greeting of a handclasp and murmured "good morning, father," or "good afternoon, father," without violating age-respect patterns.

During court cases, the claimant and his supporters sit on the bench to the left of the door; on other occasions the bench is occupied by visitors or petitioners. The police sit on one of the two benches lining the outside wall, or retire to the kitchen, a wooden slat lean-to on the left wing of the

1. Bunzel (1952) notes that in prayers, the cabildo in Chichicastenango is referred to as "the cold house, the icy house." Although the Quiché term is not given in her manuscript, one can see a similarity in the rhyming couplets and metaphorical allusions in the prayers of the towns.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Aguacatenango

175 Thus, the village of Aguacatenango was created by joining the
361 parcialidades of Aguacatenango and Quesaltepec, while Amatenango
621 was composed of the parcialidades of Amatenango and Sacatepec.
648 It is not possible at present to identify more closely the social groups that the Spaniards called parcialidades.

[997] It is probable that each parcialidad was composed of several lineages and clans, but up to the present time no one has done a comparative study of name distributions on available censuses or other similar materials, nor has any record been found, which explains the procedures used by the Dominican Friars (who controlled the reducciones in the area) when they reorganized
175 the populations of the territory.[1] In central Mexico the term
• 197 parcialidad refers, in the primary sources, to the four divisions
621 of Tenochtitlan, the Aztec Capital, but they also refer to the
175 barrios or calpuls (Caso, A., 1959). In Chiapas it is normally
621 used to mean the sub-divisions of pueblos reducidos. It is known,
648 however, that the parcialidades were originally separate groups of people which were independent social units. Even after the reducciones they kept important elements of their organization separate, including their political officers, who were responsible for complying with demands made by the Spaniards for tribute and labor. Some of the separate political functions have been re-
194 tained up to the present. It is also safe to assume that each one
621 of the parcialidades was an endogamous group; both Aguacatenango

[1]The new documents are still unavailable. They have been reported by Edward Calnek in the National Archives in Guatemala, and by Dr. Vicenta Cortez in the Madrid Archives, Spain.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

156 754 777 [609] accused of having an evil supernatural spirit. (A consequence of this is that recent immigrants to the village, not well known by the community at large, or solitary characters that keep to themselves, are more likely to be thought of as witches even if they do not break community norms.)

621 The Macro-Structure: Barrios

Amatenango and Aguacatenango are both divided into two barrios which are territorial divisions separated by an imaginary line that cuts across the villages through their central plazas. The barrios of Amatenango are called Acʼnantik and Anantik (Upper and Lower) while the Aguacatenango barrios have Saint's names.

[191] This dual barrio division is common to many Indian settlements in the Tzeltal-Tzotzil region of the highlands of Chiapas, as opposed to the multiple barrio system of the mixed Indian and Ladino towns.

In the community of Oxchuc, the barrios (kalpuletik) function, according to Siverts (1960), as non-exogamous moieties with important political and ritual functions. In the opinion of this author, these barrios are just pseudo-moieties (Murdock, 1949; 47) not being based on rules of descent, but cutting across the lineage, sib and phratry units to which Oxchuqueros belong (Guiteras Holmes, C. 1952; Villa Rojas, 1945). This definition as pseudo-moieties holds true for the barrios of both Amatenango and Aguacatenango. They are not directly connected with any descent groups, but are territorial units with functions similar to those of real moieties.

583 to reconcile themselves with the wife's parents by paying the agradecimiento (thankfulness payment), half of the established bride-pride. In those cases, it is considered that the full bride-price is not necessary "because the couple was already [591] living together." It follows that elopement cases are always patri-virilocal in residence.

592 562 582 434 In Amatenango, where women are important laborers, the household considers them an economic asset. They will not marry them off early except in case of extreme need, and they will use their marriage to form economic alliances with households at other levels of wealth. If they are not interested in keeping her because there is another married child in the household but they do not have immediate economic need, they will wait and try to marry her into a richer household. If they are interested in keeping her in the unit as a producer, they will marry her to a poorer man and ask him to come and reside uxorilocally. When the residence choice at the time of the marriage is patri-virilocal, the bride-price is much higher than in Aguacatenango: 1,000 pesos rather than 300. Unfortunately, we do not know what the amount of the bride-price is, if it is anything at all, when residence after marriage is matri-uxorilocal.

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582 191 The contrast between the marriage transactions in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is not unique to these two villages, but seems to be a recurrent structural pattern when there are differences in the labor market for women. Tax (1953) reports a similar contrast for Guatemala. In Panajachel, where women's labor has a high value, "marriages tend to cross wealth lines, with a man of a

582 richer family marrying a woman of a poorer family" (Tax, 1953:
171 202). "In only 13 of the 36 cases [reported by Tax] were the two families nearly at the same economic level" (Tax, 1953:203). Also, "exceptional but not uncommon" is that a rich man will marry his daughter to a poorer man and rather than loosing a worker, he gains another. In contrast with Panajachel is the case of Chichicastenango (a neighbor to the north) in that, "the time of women in Chichicastenango has until recently not had cash value. (Increased weaving for the tourist trade may change this.) Therefore, in Chichicastenango as opposed to Panajachel there is encouragement to marry within the same wealth class" (Tax, 1953: 206).

128 Affective Relations Within the Household

We have shown how some of the relationships within the domestic group are affected by the patterns of economic activity. In this section, we will discuss them in a different context; rather than in terms of interaction, we shall discuss them in terms of sentiment (Homans, 1950).

121 Homans (1950) has shown how intimacy and affection increase with increased association and interaction, but he also indicated that a relationship of formal respect and asymmetrical authority discourages confidence and affective ties (1950:247) or "at any rate, the fact of authority seems to turn the relationship into an ambiguous, or as the psychoanalyst would say, an ambivalent one" (1950:244).

121 In both Amatenango and Aguacatenango, this type of ambiva-
593 lence is present in the father-son relation, as we indicated in

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

The struggle for political office within the community is a response to regional and national power centers. Behavior in this struggle is alien to responses controlled in ritual or structured performances. The strategies developed in these situations fit the pattern of political homicide more typical of the Indian towns of the central plateau (Friedrich, 1964) than of the highland Chiapas area.

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